634 /73/ The former adat community head, still a young man
612 in 1916, belonged to two groups of relatives which lived
621 together, one in Borongrappo, the other in Parang Banua.
When he became head in that year, the members of both groups gladly regarded themselves as his kinsmen. For both he was a very prominent kinsman to whom they preferred to turn with requests for help and at whose festivals they liked to
[361] make their appearance. The kampong Parang Banua, where the new head lived in the beginning, is separated from the rest of the adat community by the Djene'berang River. It was somewhat inaccessible. At the urging of the administration, the head moved with a number of followers and kinsmen from Parang Banua to kampong Borongkaluku, bordering on Borongrappo. Others followed him later.

Now, about 30 years later, the adat community head with a certain pride referred to all the residents of the three kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo, and Parang Banua, as his kinsmen. He permitted his children to marry kinsmen from at least two of these groups.

●571 A number of marriages have been contracted in the course
612 of the years between the Borongrappo and Borongkaluku groups of relatives. There is regular contact between the two. A number of houses belonging to people of Borongkaluku have already been built close to those of Borongrappo. An integrated related group, however, has not developed. The fact that the
[278] Borongrappo group kept its own ornament is probably one of the most important reasons for this circumstance.

The group at Borongkaluku, which initially formed a unit with that of Parang Banua, tends to form a separate group around the adat community head. The tendency toward separation is increased by the difficulty of communication across the Djene'berang River. There are also signs that the maintenance of existing ties is valued. The regular contracting of marriages between the two is an example of this. The tie
[164] with the dead is another. A number of people who died were

571 /73 cont./ buried in Borongkaluku. But the adat community
612 head who is of advanced age has already stated that he wants
764 to be buried in Parang Banua, close to the place where his parents and uncles likewise lie buried.

An Ornament In Statu Nascendi

532 There is a small, crudely carved wooden image approxi-
778 mately 25 centimeters high wrapped in a dirty white cloth
612 in the pantasa' of the house belonging to the Kapala of /74/
669 Bontoromba. The father of the present-day Kapala had carved this himself and given it ot his son, who told me about it. It was shown to me with a certain reverence, but nevertheless also with a certain shyness. There was no sign of its being worshipped by the kinsmen of the Kapala. No tomanurung myth was connected with it. What is the significance of this little image which is kept in such an important place?

It has already been pointed out that the Kapala group is a young but already well-integrated group of relatives. The tie with Pakatto is present, but it is weak.

114 Kooreman has pointed out that the assumption of conquest as one of the most important causes for the formation of kingdoms is irreconcileable with their federal administration (1). He believed instead that this cause lies in a voluntary

1. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 194.

act of joining the federation and submission to the authority of a tomanurung. "One should not imagine that the time of the Tomanoeroengs is past," he wrote in 1883 (2).

2. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 193.

554 /101 cont./ thought of as ridiculous by the related group.
565 They would see in it merely an affected way of distinguishing
[576] himself from those around him.

The wearing of certain ornaments by a bride, and of a kris or a headdress (sigara') of a certain color by the bride-
[585 groom, is frequently a sign of friendliness on the part of a
572] higher person. He may, as a favor, permit a lower person to adorn himself on certain occasions with things which belong to the higher group. This raises the standing of the lower person.

A woman who caused her deceased mother to be treated as though she were a relative of the Prince was regarded as arrogant. "She is daring," was the reaction of those around
[626] her. It means that what she does is dangerous, because in so doing she enters the state of "bassung"; that is to say, she can be punished for this deed with a swollen belly. Nobody, however, expresses his disapproval openly, since, after all, it is quite possible that what she does is exactly the right thing, and in that case the one who made the remarks would be punished, as happened in the case of standing on the investiture rock.

If a person conducts himself as a higher person, and if he does so with great self-assurance and with success, then these modes of conduct help to determine his social standing.

The System of Followers

• 571 The system of followers is one of the most obvious aspects of the tendency toward vertical mobility. It may be described as the /102/ totality of relationships between a higher person (karaëng, lord) and those lower, whom he calls ana' ana'na (1) or taunna (his people). The basis of this system is the

•571/102 cont./ 1. Ana' ana'na literally signifys "his children," here, therefore, "as if his children."

awareness that a relationship of authority of high over low, accepted by the latter, exists and likewise the realization that high and low need each other in their striving for higher standing. This relationship is based upon cooperation. The relationship between (almost) equal groups, on the other hand, is best described as opposition. The next paragraph will deal with this point.

156 In addition to descent, the personal qualities of the in-
554 dividual are of importance in his striving to rise. The im-
571 portance of these qualities is reflected in the saying that a good karaëng has good followers and a bad karaëng bad ones. Qualities required for a higher person to be a good one are: courage in fighting and skill in debate. He must have the courage to undertake risks; he must be active and at the same time able to stimulate activity in others. In addition, a certain generosity toward those lower is indispensable. Such a dynamic character attracts those who are lower; They like to work for such a person. Qualities appreciated in a lower person worthy of mention are: faithfulness to the master; courage, in the sense of readiness to assist his master and to avenge insults inflicted upon the master; and furthermore, a certain initiative within the bounds of freedom permitted him.

114 Four essays written by the government official, Kooreman, which dealt with his experiences during a stay of almost ten years in South Celebes appeared in the Indische Gids of 1883. He also described the system of followers (1). Kooreman was

1. P. J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 375 ff.

114 /102 cont./ able to describe his impressions in a clear and lively manner. The conditions he sketches can still be recognized as typical of South Celebes, but at the same time it is apparent that much has changed. His description will first be reproduced here. Then my own data will follow, /103/ and in the process we will be able to point out a number of times what has remained and what has changed.

554 "...the higher the nobility to which one belonged, the
565 more did one possess the privilege of impunity. The little
571 man almost completely lacked protection against the presumptions and vexations of the Anakaraeng. As a result he was forced to look for protection from those who caused the evil condition, namely, the nobility. The latter undertook the protection, but conditionally, that is, the Anakaraeng demanded a certain measure of subjection of his protégé. From this a relationship developed to which we refer as "being a follower," but which is described more characteristically and accurately by the Makassarese word for follower, Ana ana. (Ana signifies "child," Ana ana, "little child.") Between the Anakaraeng and his protégé there existed, therefore, the relationship of a great and powerful man and a little child.

571 "The follower was obliged to recognize the Anakaraeng as
605 his master (karaeng). He was forced to accompany him while hunting and on his travels, to help him in various agricultural activities, to bring his small presents, and to perform services at his festivals. He was obligated to assist him if he was threatened or attacked, or if he had to avenge an insult. In a word, he had to follow his master (minawang) and carry out whatever he was enjoined to do. The Anakaraeng, on the other hand, assumed the responsibility of guarding his ana ana against any arbitrary treatment, and if they suffered alleged or actual injustice, he took their side. The relationship was so close that to insult a follower was equal to insulting his

/103 cont./ master, and the latter already felt offended if
● 571 one of his followers so much as received a poor reception. If
675 a follower's horse or buffalo were stolen, the master would say: 'My buffalo or my horse is stolen,' and he would leave no stone unturned to get back the stolen property and to avenge himself upon the culprit -- more accurately, the one who insulted him --, for he would not dream of handing over the thief to the authorized judge.

"The tie between Anakaraeng and ana ana was voluntary and consequently could be broken. The Karaeng rarely dismissed his followers because of bad behavior. As a rule he did so if the follower did not satisfy his far-reaching /104/ obligations or had been disobedient. The follower, on the other hand, would choose another Karaeng if he thought that he was being insufficiently protected, if his master demanded too many services of him, or if, in his opinion, another follower was more favored. Such a break in relations was rarely resorted to, however, because the follower would incur the hatred and vengeance of his former master.

"The Karaeng were also obligated to provide for the material interests of their followers. They helped them with paddy fields, with paddy, plowing, cattle, and sometimes with money, for instance in cases of marriages and deaths. Not all Karaeng, however, fulfilled this obligation; many were more intent upon their own interests than upon that of their ana ana.

554 "The higher the social standing of an Anakaraeng, the
565 more followers he had. Conversely, the more followers he
571 had, the greater was his standing and influence, and the anakaraeng /sic/ who had the most followers was at the same time the most prominent and the most influential.

571 "Followers consisted of distant blood relatives, people
[602] who from generation to generation had been the followers of one single kin group, and people, frequently foreigners, who

571 [607] /104 cont./ had voluntarily become followers. They lived not only in the vicinity of their master; some resided even outside the Glarangship or regency, and only came if they were called or required protection.

571 631 "If a follower found himself in a dispute, if he had committed a misdemeanor which might put him in difficulties, or else if he had been harmed or insulted, he would not turn to his head, his Glarang, or to the regent, but rather to his master, his Karaeng, who acted as his protector, safeguarded his rights, and always tried to help him out of difficulties. It is obvious that the more prominent, the more influential the person who concerns himself with the interests of his follower, the easier it was to obtain justice, the more chance there was to be judged in the right even if one were wrong. Conversely, it was all the easier to go unpunished if one had committed an offense.

"This system of followers underwent such an expansion that not only Anakaraeng, but all nobles, and even well-to-do natives had followers. Consequently, in addition to the division of the /105/ land area into Glarangships and Kalompowan kampongs, there existed a division of residents into nobles, each with his followers, so that everyone of them constituted a power in the regency."

571 648 The quotation was long but valuable. Kooreman further points out that the function of the European administration is actually that of a super-karaëng, able to provide effective protection for all who ask for it, without any obligations being attached to this. In his opinion, this had as a consequence that in the course of decades the appeal for protection to the anakaraeng decreased, so that their power disappeared at the same time. As a result, little states within the state -- in the sense of a nobleman forming with his followers a unit within the realm -- no longer occurred.

178 571 From the data available at present, it appears that in the course of the last 75 years the forms in which the system of

178 /105 cont./ followers manifested itself have changed. The
571 general characteristics to be met with today are the following:

The higher person is connected with a number of lower ones, his people. The latter work his sawahs in the broadest sense of the word, that is to say, from the first tilling to the delivery of sheaves at his house. They take care of his maize gardens and guard his langsap trees when they bear fruit. They run errands for him in the pasars; they carry wood and water for daily use, do repairs on the house, manufacture the common utensils from bamboo or wood, and finally assist at a festival held by their master by performing the innumerable little tasks. On the other hand, those inferiors who are unmarried and live with their master have their food and clothing provided for them, and there is the chance that their master will let them marry and provide their wedding feast. Once they are married, the couple is provided with a dwelling and has a number of sheaves delivered to its house after the harvest. This lower person then lives apart with his family but remains in daily contact with his master by way of the tasks which he has to perform. Since he remains closely connected with his master, he is permitted to participate in the festivals that break up the monotonous kampong existence, and he shares in the social standing which is displayed on these occasions.

[675] There is never a question of a firm agreement at the beginning of the relationship. The tie may be broken at any moment. Such a rupture, however, always takes place only gradually. An abrupt break is avoided, /106/ because this indicates quarreling and because it is thought to be better if one leaves before the conflict breaks out.

178 The tie between a higher person and his people is
557 advantageous to both parties in their striving to rise. To lose
558 a follower implies a diminution of social standing for the
571 higher person. Here his generosity to his people is of importance. The superior who has a reputation for making his

178 /106 cont./ people work a great deal and for giving little
557 has difficulty in obtaining people and tends to jeopardize
571 severely his striving to rise. The termination of the tie with
558 his master involves for the lower person the loss of the superior's protection and help and at the same time the loss of social standing which the association with the superior casts on him. Three-quarters of a century ago, however, the loss of protection was a graver matter than it is today. Since then, the position of the lower people has become stronger.

554 A number of distinctions can now be made with regard
565 to the multiplicity of forms in the system of followers. It
591 would be exceptional for an ordinary kampong resident to have a stranger in his house who works for him and who could be considered to have entered into a relationship as a follower. Such a relationship is, in a case like this, extremely temporary. If, in the course of years, personal ties become stronger, and if the stranger works and lives to his satisfaction, then the relationship is continued. But frequently, especially if he is married, the follower starts out for himself after a while with a garden or a sawah of his own. As a result, such a relationship becomes looser although it need not be broken. In that case, the former followers no longer live as servants but as newcomers in the kampong (1). Subsequently, it depends

1. In the Bontoramba census, they were included among the Rest group.

upon their personal relationship to their master whether they will continue to come and help at special events such as festivals.

571 As an example of this in Bontoramba, we can point to a
591 married couple who had committed silariang. Before reconciliation, this couple had worked for one of the wealthy people of the kampong, had moved into a house of their own,

571 /106 cont./ and subsequently had continued to live there
591 even after the reconciliation. Furthermore, there lived in Bontoramba a young woman, an orphan who had gotten into difficulties with her parents, who lived elsewhere, and so she had been taken into the house of one of the prominent /107/ kampong residents. In the third place, a Javanese, an ex-colonist, should be mentioned here. He had come to live in the house of one of the Mangenre group to work for this person (1). Similar cases are known to occur in each kampong.

[125]

1. The two last-named individuals were registered as kinsmen of the master of the house in the census.

571 Nowadays a kampong head frequently has someone in
622 his house who carries letters for him and performs extra
202 errands. This function is created by the need for a confidential
602 messenger (2). Frequently the head will take a young kinsman

2. In Borongloë the suro (literally, "messenger") has come to have the job of attending to community labor /gemeentediensten/ -- until shortly before the war, corvée /herendiensten/. He does not run errands. This development, however, varies greatly from one locality to another.

for this purpose.

571 In principle, kinsmen are equals, and therefore there
602 can never be any question of a relationship of followers between

571 /107 cont./ them. If, for instance, a young unmarried
602 man goes to work for a prominent uncle (3), this is always a

[554 466]

3. Here used in the sense of purina, thus someone belonging to a higher generation.

temporary arrangement. For a person who helps his uncle thereby increases the difference in standing existing between that uncle and his own family. Consequently, a young man will prefer, in the long run, to work for his parents, younger brothers, and unmarried sisters rather than to help his uncle gain more social standing.

People who work for a blood relative can be called
554 followers, but this occurs only if they /108/ serve as followers
571 of one head together with non-kinsmen. In that case they
602 occupy the highest position among them. Because of their less pronounced personal qualities they are bound to obey, that is, to follow their kinsman, but with respect to the other followers they are higher, and therefore the leaders, by reason of their descent.

The dwelling of the adat community head is the center
634 of Borongloë. The adat community office is, as it were, merely one of its extensions. Matters of taxation, transferences of land and cattle, quarrels which end in fights, elopements, marriages, foreigners, and all that concerns the ornament worship are handled by the head. In the case of some problems the persons involved were referred to the office and to office hours, but the head receives most of them at his home where their problem is discussed and settled right away, if possible.
571 An active head in this way attracts much information. A
634 number of followers will regularly be found around him.

These work for him in the sawahs and in the gardens, and in addition they run errands for him. Some of them

571 /108 cont./ prefer to carry messages or summon people;
634 others are especially charged with the care of horse and gig (bendi). As good followers, however, they are at the same time the cars and eyes of their master. They report to him everything that happens in the kampongs so that he remains
571 fully informed. They may, in certain cases, proceed harshly
634 if someone commits a discourtesy against the head, for it is
626 also their task to punish a breach of authority in a manner clear to everyone. Each attempt to undermine authority must be suppressed. Not to react to it is regarded as a sign of weakness. In these times of fixed boundaries this is not so serious, but in the period before 1905, there immediately existed the threat of a defection with all its consequences.

571 The followers of the adat community head of Borongloë
634 numbered seven in July, 1948. They included, first, one of
[602] his cousins (samposikali); second, a Javanese who had remained in South Celebes as ex-romusha (1), had learned the

1. A Japanese word which acquired the meaning of "forced laborer."

language, and had come to feel at home in Borongloë; and third, five sons and sons-in-law of followers of his father when he had been head.

/109/ Another adat community head had the same number of followers, but among them were three contemporaries linked to him through personal ties that dated from previous periods of his life, among others his school period. These ties now constituted the basis of their follower relationship.

The difference between these two adat community heads is clear. In the latter case we are dealing with a head who, for the maintenance of his power, relied, at least in part, on the ties personally created by him. In the first case, the head,

571 /109 cont./ whose personal qualities were of little account
634 among the Makassarese, relied almost entirely upon ties created by preceding generations. That he was able to maintain himself as head during these times is merely due to the support of his father, the former head, and to that of the Self-government of Goa.

554 The kinsmen of the adat community head live distributed
571 over three kampong territories. In his group of relatives it
602 is always pretended that the number of followers living with
634 and among the kinsmen in these kampongs is very large. This is done to make the social standing of the group appear as great as possible. After all, the possession of many followers indicates that a group rises considerably above those around them. In effect, in the adat community head's group of relatives only eight houses with followers were found. The occupants in each case had a special tie with one of the head's kinsmen. They performed the customary tasks for the head and cooperated at the festivals of other members belonging to this group of relatives.

554 According to reports, the number of followers of the
566 karaëng group is very large, especially the number of those
571 whose previous generation also worked for this group of relatives. The karaëng are each supposed to have had one or more followers who frequently lived in the neighborhood of the master (1). This conception of the situation corresponds

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1. It is related that here working the sawah is entirely in the hands of followers because people do not like to see a karaëng working in the sawah.

554 /109 cont./ completely to the established ideal, the more
565 followers, the greater the standing. But in view of the experience
571 with the adat community head's group of relatives who, even though on /110/ a lower level, gave the same representation of the matter, it is necessary to be careful here, too, so long as we must proceed entirely from unauthenticated reports.

178 The importance of the system of followers in the earlier
571 form described by Kooreman decreased. New forms arose; these are to be found in the big-city relationships of Macassar. In the country areas, the relationship of large landowner to day laborer is an example.

The system of followers in and around the city of Macassar
178 is observable wherever wealthy merchants earn their money
441 by means of the sale and purchase of rice and fish, sand and
571 stones. For their trade they employ a large number of people. This employment relationship can best be described as that of followers to their master in which the personal qualities of the merchant, the punggawa, are of overriding importance. Here, too, a follower avenges an insult done to his punggawa. Here, too, services performed -- frequently in addition to a fixed salary or piece wage -- are rewarded irregularly and in a general way. Here the punggawa also has a personal tie with a number of his people. When he dies his trade immediately goes down. His organization is built upon personal ties with his subordinates.

Large Landownership

491 Some characteristics of the system of followers can also
571 be found connected with large landownership (1), in the
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1. No figures are available to indicate precisely when we can begin to speak of large

471 /110 cont./ landownership. The examples given here are taken from conditions where no doubt can exist about the existence of large landownership. A single individual in each case owned more than 20 hectares.

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relationship of the large landowner to his representative (koasa), and of each of these to their respective laborers. In South Celebes there are, on the whole, sufficient grounds on the basis of which a large number of small farmers could be forced to work the land of others. The form of large landowner-

554 ship encountered here must be understood from the point of view of relationships obtaining between high and low. The two factors, descent and personal qualities, with which we already have become acquainted above, are important in this respect.

A large landowner generally has a few hundred /111/ sawahs which lie distributed in various kampongs far removed from each other. The landowner himself, who usually lives far away from these, therefore employs someone to be his koasa in a kampong or, if this happens to be convenient, in a district. The koasa sees to it that the sawahs located there are worked. He, in turn, hires a number of people from that region as laborers. The latter receive as many sawah sections as they desire or are able to handle. The koasa's task is to see to it that the sawahs are worked, that this is done as well as possible, that the distribution of the harvested sheaves takes place according to the agreements made, and finally, that a reasonable number of sheaves reaches the landowner. The latter, therefore, must be able to trust his representatives. Consequently, he chooses by preference someone who already has a personal relationship to him and someone who

466 471 571

/111 cont./ furthermore has demonstrated that he is capable of administering and working his own lands well. A koasa is frequently an energetic personality. Such an individual in turn easily attracts laborers, either among his own kinsmen, or among the other kampong residents. Through his koasaship he gains in standing. The reason that the sunrang was higher for a girl than was customary in her group of relatives was explained by the fact that her father was a koasa.

One whose standing is solely based upon descent will not necessarily be a large landowner at the same time. After all, he frequently may not possess the personal qualities necessary to attach the best koasa to himself; inferior koasa, in their turn, attract inferior workers. The distribution of the harvest is less well organized, the number of sheaves that such a large landowner would receive in his house would therefore be scarcely worthwhile. A large landowner who might attempt to make working contracts which are too advantageous for him would find out that this is not appreciated. As a consequence of such a move workers who do not need his land to provide for their sustenance would either go to work the lands of others, or else start up for themselves.

[565] Not every nobleman, therefore, is able to muster up the initiative and the organizational ability to develop a new complex of sawahs. This can only be done by a nobleman who possesses, in addition to the necessary descent, the personal qualities required for such an undertaking. If these personal qualities are present, many people, rather than setting out for themselves, develop a tract of land for him under the leadership /112/ of one of his koasa. The tie with the superior is then regarded as of great importance (1).

1. Sometimes a person who possesses much land employs a so-called koasa-lompo ("large representative") who, in his turn, hires local

466 /112 cont./ koasa, sometimes called,
471 for purposes of differentiation,
571 "small representative"
(koasa tja'di).

441 One who owes his standing solely to his personal qualities
471 obtains no more in returns from his land than a person whose
454 standing is based entirely upon his descent, as might be expected on rational economic grounds. During the postwar periods when many Makassarese merchants were earning large sums, one might have expected that many of them would have invested even a small part of their money in pices of land in the interior. One would have thought that they might have bought sawahs, or that at least they would have had large pieces of land entered in their name in the land-tax registers with the purpose of having them developed later. Nothing of this kind, however, appears from the Goa land-tax registers. The opinion of one of these merchants that he did buy jewelry with this money but no land because land is difficult to sell quickly if one needs money merely points to the direction in which the explanation must be looked for.

571 For a merchant who is not related to the nobility of Goa,
565 it is difficult to attach a good koasa to himself and through him
554 a large number of laborers. If he were to purchase several pieces of land, his share in the harvest would not be worth the trouble. An ordinary kampong individual prefers to work the land of a prominent man from the karaëng group. In that he has confidence; it strengthens his position. A tie with a nobleman always appears valuable. On the other hand, so long as economic necessity is not coercive and the personality of the large landowner does not convince him of his special personal qualities, there is no reason for the kampong man to work for this wealthy stranger. In principle, this stranger is regarded as an equal with whom one can therefore

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of the karaëng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is regarded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaëng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaëng related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these
[582] qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaëng. Marriage to a member of the karaëng group is possible in that case.

156 The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
178 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis
[648] figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to
571 himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
634 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to maintain himself in his function.

/113 cont./
Slaves (ata)

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Matthes translates the term ata by "slave," "servant," "subject." This translation is still correct, even today. When the Prince of Goa speaks of his ata, it must be determined from the context whether he means by that his slaves, his followers, or his subjects, or possibly even his noble confederates. If someone refers to himself as ata in relation to the Prince, this is a self-abasement which -- especially if an important person is involved -- /114/ frequently amounts to an excessive elevation of the Prince and thus, at the same time, of the speaker himself.

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It is as difficult to translate the concept ata with a single term as it is to describe someone's social status in fixed, known terms. A translation is only possible if the relationship of the speaker to the one whose ata he considers himself to be is clear. Ata indicates a relationship. A resident of kampong Pakatto who calls himself an ata (subject) of the Prince of Goa turns out to own an ata (slave) himself.

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Insofar as the term ata is translated by "slave," it appears that slaves belong to the highest social class. Friedericy reports that they were generally despised, but that court slaves occupied a privileged position compared to ordinary people (1). It seems that slaves cannot be placed in a fixed

1. H. J. Friedericy, Dissertation, p. 551.

social hierarchy. They do not form an integrated group, either. Each slave has individual ties with his master. Their position can merely be indicated by the relationship to their master.

The position of slaves in Makassarese-Buginese country does not give rise to strong sentiments. "Even

1:Chabot--157/ E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

537 /119 cont./
539 Listen to the mountain, the Bawakaraëng,
643 the never-loosening anchor,
such am I, too,
and only he who can be trusted in this way,
can truly be trusted.
If the Royal Council removes to the west,
then I will also go to the west;
if it removes to the east,
I will also go to the east. /120/
But if the Royal Council resides
with you, my Prince, in the ancestral gathering hall, then I will remain below (1).

[542
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1. That is to say, I will not take part in the conference; I follow. Makassarese dwellings are built on posts. If the prince confers with his Royal Council, the lower people wait under the house and listen in.

Opposition

571 Fairchild's definition of the concept "opposition" gives a good picture of conditions in South Celebes. He defines it by: "resistance to or efforts to prevent or offset the efforts or ideas of another person or group, not necessarily accompanied by attitudes of anger or purpose to destroy or injure the opponent" (2) /cited in English/. This term will be used here.

2. H.P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, New York, 1944.

571 /120 cont./ Opposition is inherent in the relations of men among each other. In the family the relation between father [543] and son -- and to a lesser extent that between brothers -- is strongly formalized. As a result, opposition within the family is greatly reduced in force.

Opposition is observable between relatives and especially between the prominent members of one group of relatives.

554 561 571 The relation between a high and a low and, likewise, between an old and a young man, is also formalized. To contradict a higher or an older man is prohibited. To speak in his presence soon becomes a sign of discourtesy. The manner in which these social relations are conducted makes a stiff impression.

571 Opposition is further observable between groups of relatives. Where there is an ornament, the worship communities are in opposition to each other. There is opposition between kampongs, between adat communities, and among the wealthy.

Within all these groupings, there are always latent oppositions present. They are merely not always noticeable.

571 643 [794] Worship communities consequently do not always conduct themselves as a unit (3). The opposition can frequently be

> 3. A realm, that is to say, a local administrative and political unit, and the worship community around the ornament belonging to the prince of that realm, coincide to a great extent.

traced back to the family of the prince, for instance, if the individual who has been appointed prince on the basis of his descent, does not, at the same time, possess the personal /121/ qualities necessary for the effective exercise of his office.

175 /122 cont./ When the old Prince of Sidenreng died on
643 November 7, 1831, and La Pangorisang made his appearance
669 as the new prince, a fraternal war soon broke out" (1). And

1. Eerdmans, pp. 515-516.

later:

"Through our intervention, La Pangorisang had been reinstated in 1835 in the districts taken away from him during the war. He had been reconciled with Datoe Lampoele, who was permitted to settle in Sidenreng. Quietly, however, he hoped for help from Bone in order to attain his goal sooner or later: Sidenreng's throne. Consequently, Sidenreng remained divided into two parties hostile to each other" (2).

2. Eerdmans, p. 520.

662 Signs of opposition are to be found on each level in a
557 multiplicity of forms. The system of followers strengthens
571 the position of the combatants. The striving is directed at beating a superior with the help of as many inferiors by way of followers and as many equals by way of confederates as possible. One tries constantly to become the highest among one's equals. A certain unity of territory is always maintained in the struggle; opponents and allies are found by preference among one's neighbors. In this way, the entire Makassarese-Buginese country, each kingdom, each adat community, each kampong, and even each group of relatives, as well as each family with more than one man, is potentially a theatre of battle.

/123/ In each of these groupings, several individuals strive for more power within the territorially limited opportunities existing for them. In so doing, they are always faced with the competitive efforts of their equals among each other. For if someone, in a certain situation, believes that

662 /123 cont./ he can better serve goals for himself, his kin
557 group, and possibly for his country, by not keeping to a cer-
571 tain agreement, he withdraws. One cannot count upon loyalty between equals with respect to the agreements made among them. Loyalty unto death is to be found only between high and low (1).

> 1. Here, too, there are limits. Personal loyalty of a lower toward a higher person is held in esteem. But loyalty on the part of a related group of lower people toward a higher /group/ lasts as long as the former know themselves to be dependent upon the latter, and so long as they do not have a more powerful higher /group/ to which they can turn for help and protection.

Now, if we look a little more closely at a number of opposition phenomena on various levels, it appears that a general direction can be pointed out in spite of confusing differences.

622 The kapalakampong strives to keep his kapalaship for
554 himself and his kinsmen, for the person who has authority over a non-kinsman is higher than that non-kinsman.
602 Furthermore, his kinsmen, at least those within his kampong territory, share in the higher standing which he possesses in this way. With respect to the members of his own group of relatives and with respect to that of other groups residing in his territory, the position of the kapala is different. In his own group he belongs to the prominent men. In that capacity

443 462 /145 cont./ bring home necessities for the daily fare. They go around alone or with a number of men of their own age. Men and older boys are to be found together at the pasars, in the warong /shops/, or in the livingrooms of houses.

462 562 The activities of men and women therefore complement each other. One cannot do without the other. There exists the notion that a man is less fortunate, as it were more helpless, if his wife does not serve him a meal, than a woman if her husband does not provide her with the necessities for this meal. After all, she still has the opportunity of getting some vegetables and fruits from the surrounding gardens.

562 554 576 571 521 Forms of social intercourse among men differs from that of women. This is evident during festive occasions. At the meal the men are seated in rows according to rank and status with the highest man present at the top; he talks while the others eat and at the right moment burst into a laugh of assent. One of them may know how to inspire the speaker for another story by an encouraging comment. Not every topic can be discussed at such a time; it must be a general event. The narration may be boastful, and the narrator may place himself in the center of the story since, after all, those present share in the standing he won in this manner. The superiors each have a bowl with side dishes before them. Their neighbors share one bowl among two or three people, and at the lower end, among the lower, or younger, men, four or even more eat from the same bowl.

521 562 571 The form of social intercourse make a stiff impression. Immediately after the meal is finished the men get up and go in small groups to neighboring houses to chat with each other. At that time the formal tone is abandoned. Contemporaries seek each other's company. Now they are free in their actions and speech.

521 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally.
562 They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the
571 same time about topics which they would also discuss at an
576 ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

Forms of Social Intercourse Between the Sexes

571 The forms of social intercourse between men and women
673 are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized
834 by saying that every contact between them is prohibited. Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a word exchanged between them. Being together in the same room or even an accidental encounter without the presence of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The intention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation; if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden contact actually existed.

These strict rules do not apply to children and older
[561 858] people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls

1. To be specific: individuals of under ten to twelve years and above thirty-five to forty years of age.

and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only a great number of years after marriage has been contracted. Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by such a transgression.

This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small
[689] dagger/, which frequently results in death.

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

521 It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
626 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
834 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation. Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved. People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:
Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

571 Young women and men often evade each other
626 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
834 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

177 Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
834 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

177 /147 cont./ store, the Arab and Chinese storekeepers in
834 Macassar know that they cannot turn directly to the young girls to recommend their wares but that, for this purpose, they have to address the escorting man or older woman, while the younger ones talk among each other and thus make their wishes known. One who does not take these feelings into account runs the risk of being passed over at a subsequent visit to the store.

571 The separate domains of the sexes in the house and the
834 division of labor contribute to the fact that the prohibition against contact is carried out to a great extent in daily life.
[626] The strict sanction imposed on their violation lends a forced character to the relations between young men and girls. Contact may only take place in complete secrecy or, by way of exception, if it is expressly or silently permitted. In that case it is still tied to special regulations. There is never any uninhibited association. Some of these occasions will be described here.

527 After harvest, so-called pounding festivals (1) are
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1. Called Adengka ase lolo, "the pounding of the young paddy."

[374] regularly held. These take place during the evening in the yard before the house by the /148/ glimmer of an oil lamp, preferably when there is a bright moon shining. For this, the pounding block is hung up in rattan strings, and while
[533 the girls pound, two or three of their closest male relatives
534] beat with sticks against the transverse axle of the block in a rapid and powerful rhythm. This sound is audible at great distances; the purpose is to attract young people from far and near to come and look. What they see is four girls

527 /148 cont./ dressed in red jackets, nicely made-up, and
571 decked with jewelry, pounding with precise movements, eyes cast down. After some time they are replaced. Under the surveillance of a couple of older women, four others descend from the house and take over the pounders while the first team again goes up, always with an escort and with eyes cast down. From behind the barred windows of the front rooms -- on this occasion the entire house is the domain of the women -- they peep outside where in the half-light of the yard the men walk around, sit, talk, and smoke (1).

[273]

[554]

1. Little drinking is done. If there is rice wine (ballo'ase) present, the number of bottles is limited. Only the higher guests receive a bottle and share some of this with the others. Serious drunkenness does not occur. Makassarese who drink ballo' proceed to tell taller and taller tales and become increasingly provocative in their remarks. At such times they avoid the company of a higher person.

527 It is reported that formerly a group of young men from
579 another kampong, attracted by the provocative sounds, would
177 once in awhile make an attack and try to run away with one
571 of the young girls. This would then give rise to a general brawl. The young men of the house group would then defend their young sisters and cousins against an attack from outside. Nowadays such a thing no longer occurs. The festival has become a comparatively dull display since fighting and

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

571 /149 cont./ middle age come into consideration, for even
834 older men are suspect if they talk with a young girl. Nor
857 can a young man speak inconspicuously with a married
887 woman of around thirty or with a girl of ten.

Little boys will carry short messages, but by doing this
584 they at best keep existing contact going. The older women
602 who act as intermediary (anrong, "little mother") are in a position to promote marriages desired by them by assisting in the establishment of secret contacts. This is never done by the girl's own mother; an aunt or great-aunt is the suitable person for this.

Everyone trusts her, convinced that she has the best intentions for her niece, and therefore she can always talk with her without arousing suspicion. She is able to draw the girl's attention to a certain young man, for instance by calling him and giving him errands to run. She tells the girl that his /150/ parents had wanted to make a request on his behalf (ampasuroi) but that he had refused this, and she adds to this that perhaps he already has someone in mind (nia' tjini'na). Perhaps as a result of few opportunities for free companionship, it seems to take very little to make a Makassarese girl believe that a young man is enamored of her.

Contact is prohibited but nevertheless occurs. This is
571 proved by the regularly recurring cases of an unmarried
834 pregnant woman who seeks asylum with the village functionary,
848 as well as by a number -- though not all -- of silariang
583 cases. But not each secret contact necessarily has such an ending. In the very first instance, the decision lies with
583 the girl. When an older woman communicates the feelings
584 of a certain young man to her and at the same time hints at the possibility of a flight, then, if she would like to marry him her answer is that she feels sorry for her mother because she is the only one in the house or just that she does not want to leave her mother and sisters because she still has so many little brothers and sisters. She says to the older woman:

554 /210 cont./ latter case, a marriage may still take place.
684 Then there arises a relationship between "the people who feel siri'" and "the fleers," a relationship which opens up the /211/ possibility of circumventing the killing that is also prescribed in this case. Ultimately, though only after years, a reconciliation can come about. This entire complex will be discussed in the following part of this chapter.

Third Part

The Siri' Phenomenon

554 Vertical mobility occurs by means of opposition relation-
571 ships. Men between fifteen and forty years, and especially the younger ones among them, must face each other in a lasting relationship of challenge and outdoing. Each challenge and outdoing demands a reaction. The person who does not react, that is to say, the one who does not participate in what is regarded as important in this culture, has little social standing. The feeling of someone who is outdone is indicated by siri' (1). Someone is siri' when his social standing is

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1. Matthes (Woordenboek, p. 583) translates the word siri' by "ashamed, diffident, shy, shame, sense of honor, disgrace." But to a Makassarese, siri' has an entirely different meaning than these words have for a Dutchman. The meaning fits equally little that of the

554 /211 cont./ Indonesian word malu. An attempt at definition will be made below. For the sake of clarity, however, I have left the term untranslated in a number of cases.
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impaired and when another person knows this.

A man is inclined to regard immediately as outdoing any accidental event at an encounter, or a lucky word on his part, by which he raises himself above the other person, at least in his own eyes. The other, when he hears this, is also siri'.

The reaction may consist of a counterchallenge, a returned insult, by which the original challenger in his turn becomes siri'. It is never possible to determine precisely who "began." The mutual opposition is sometimes explained by an event from the past that is regarded as of great importance, for instance, a murder. But with that the question concerning the origin of the mutual opposition is merely put off.

There exists the possibility that the outdone person will [578] respond by stabbing. The consequence of outdoing can therefore never be foreseen. It remains charged with real danger. Many stabbing brawls in South Celebes are proof of that.

/212/ One of the most spectacular challenges is the theft 554 of cattle, horses, or buffalo. Its purpose is, in the first instance, 571 to show one's courage (kaporeanna); only in a few cases are 685 economic motives at the bottom of this. Sometimes a warning is uttered beforehand: "I am coming" (that is to say, "to [578] steal your buffalo"). Stealing cattle is done to find a reason for a brawl. A successful buffalo theft is considered a triumph and at the same time a challenge. A cattle theft at the expense of the prince is therefore a great insult.

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/212 cont./ The idea that the person whose social standing is attacked must react, because whoever does not react is low in standing, has led at present to the relative popularity of various modern sports. The English idea in sports that one should be a "good loser" in everything is foreign to the Makassarese. To lose demands a reaction. One does not like to take part in a sport where everyone can directly see by the outcome who has won. In soccer matches standing is already harmed by the first opposing goal. The desire to score with a countering point thereby becomes so excessively great that both individual achievements as well as team play suffer from it. A trailing score is therefore difficult to equalize. Soccer circles in Macassar use this fact to point out that Makassarese have poor morale in competitive situations.

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In the previous chapter we explained that a woman may not lose any standing. Her position is a fixed point for the men who are constantly outdoing each other. An impairment of her standing immediately calls for the most violent reaction, namely, the death of the challenger. Whoever does not react is "matesiri', " that is to say, "socially dead." This is expressed by saying that such a person is no longer "of use, " or that he is generally despised. Killing is used because what has happened is felt to be so bad that no other reaction is considered possible.

However, there are many reasons why a man in such a case prefers not to kill. Fear of the long prison sentence that awaits him or personal feelings of sympathy for the person who committed the transgression are among them. The tendencies to kill and not to kill are both present. And now their relationship is so much off balance that a man is not expected to go and find the person who made him siri' /213/ with the purpose of killing him, but to make a clearly observable attempt to do so in case of an encounter.

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[358] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

● [571] When she is being discussed, one of the older women, sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[672] moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672 than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop
[602] at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say, they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

1:Chabot--328 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

155 /240 cont./ 1. For the ideas followed here, see A. Kardiner, The Individual and His Society, fourth edition, New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.

•571 Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same
578 descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to members of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the restraints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people who are present there. When the young adat community head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around outside.

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard
554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another
576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle,
[685] and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of outdoing another. But the theft of other goods practically does not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real,
571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing

554/241 cont./ to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely de-
612 limited group and that the standing of relatives among each
684 other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be
689 found -- with one single exception: the karaëng and the
[562] people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A
[762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.